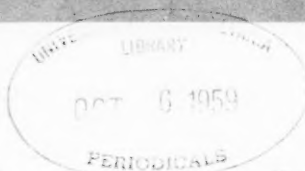


THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Bulletin



Vol. XLI, No. 1057

September 23, 1959

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FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Preserving the Security of Free Nations

REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER¹

In these next few minutes, I should like to talk to you mainly about my recent European trip.²

To give you first my most memorable impression: It is that the people of Europe have a deep liking for the people of America. This they made manifest in a number of ways. In the villages, towns, and in the big cities I could feel this message rushing across the Atlantic to you. Along the lanes and country roads the message was always the same. Even during a long automobile trip to make a courtesy visit to the Queen and to her family, there was scarcely a 100-yard stretch of road that did not have its little knot of people to send back this same greeting and this same sentiment to America.

During the past 2 weeks I have conferred, as you know, with Chancellor Adenauer of Germany, Prime Minister Macmillan of Britain, and President de Gaulle of France, all old friends of mine. I talked with Prime Minister Segni of Italy, also with Mr. Luns of Holland and Mr. Spaak of Belgium, who are, respectively, the President and Secretary General of the NATO Council.

These men are statesmen. Like us, they are dedicated to preserving the security of free nations and to upholding the values we place above all others—freedom, equality of opportunity, human dignity, and peace with justice. With them we reaffirmed our unity on fundamental issues and in support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

There will be no retreat from the fundamental objectives to which we are collectively pledged. We agreed that the defensive strength required

for our common security must continue to be maintained.

For the face-to-face reaffirmation of this faith and purpose, I am grateful and deeply gratified. I had the same feeling during my entire journey, in talking to President Heuss of Germany and great numbers of other men and women in and out of government.

The Laos Situation

To our friends in Bonn, London, and Paris I expressed America's concern over the aggressive actions of the Communists in Asia. Each believed that the United Nations should take official notice of the Laos situation and that we should support that body in seeking a satisfactory solution. Mr. Macmillan was especially emphatic on this point. I am happy that the United Nations has already designated a factfinding commission of neutral observers.³ I hope that this prompt United Nations action will serve to halt the aggression that has threatened the freedom of Laos.

Quite naturally much of our discussion centered about our defensive alliance, NATO. All expressed approval of its growing capability to secure cooperation among member nations in political, economic, and scientific areas as a supplement to its work in the security field. The Common Market and similar developments tending to knit more closely together the nations of Europe also engaged our attention.

Problems of the Underdeveloped Nations

One subject involved in our discussions was that of the growing problems faced by the under-

¹ Delivered to the Nation by television and radio on Sept. 10 (White House press release).

² For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1959, p. 371, and Sept. 21, 1959, p. 403.

³ See p. 456.

developed or newly formed nations of the world. More than 1 billion needy people require real advances in education, health facilities, and living standards. There is an understandable ferment among them, an intense dissatisfaction with their present lot and an increasing determination to improve that lot. They must have greater technical assistance in all fields, large amounts of investment capital, and wider opportunities for trade.

Since all of us outside the Iron Curtain want such progress to be achieved in freedom, the highly industrialized free nations must find effective means to provide the needed help. Each of us has undertaken to study this vast problem which could eventually become a menace to our own freedom. No one nation alone should or can bear the burdens involved. We see again in this matter the need for cooperation and unity among ourselves so that, through equitable sharing, success can gradually but surely be achieved.

Political Developments in French Africa

In connection with this worldwide issue, I had in Paris a unique and most interesting opportunity to learn many things about political developments in all parts of French Africa. To that city had been invited the Prime Ministers of the countries making up the French Community; 11 came.

They were so anxious to express in some unique form their admiration, liking, and respect for the people of America that they sent through one of their number, Prime Minister Youlou [of the Republic of Congo], a baby elephant. The baby elephant, I understand, is on its way here now, and I shall have to find for it a home in one of our zoos.

The people of these regions, who are, in local affairs, largely self-governing, are being helped by France in their economic, cultural, and political progress. They have been assured by France of the right to make their own final decisions as to their own political destiny.

The morale of all these men is high. They repudiate the false teachings of communism. They have a vision of progress and future greatness in freedom. They emphatically expressed to me their gratitude to France and General de Gaulle for the opportunities opening up before them.

Mr. Khrushchev's Visit

It was in this kind of atmosphere that I talked with our Western allies about the impending visit of Chairman Khrushchev to the United States.

I outlined to them the reasons for my invitation to him, which are simply: first, to give him the opportunity to see what America and Americans are like—to let him see and feel a great and thriving nation living in real freedom; second, to give him, face to face, the basic convictions of our people on the major issues of the day, including West Berlin, and to hear from him directly his own views on those issues.

I assured our allies in private conversations, as I have on other occasions publicly, that my invitation to Mr. Khrushchev does not contemplate merely a ceremonial visit—just as it does not suggest any purpose of reaching definitive negotiation. But it does imply the hope that serious exploratory efforts may reveal new opportunities for practical progress toward removal of some of the causes of world tensions.

Conversations with Chairman Khrushchev will not include any negotiation concerning subjects that directly relate to the interests of our allies or to any other part of the free world.

In this connection I know that neither America nor her allies will mistake good manners and candor for weakness; no principle or fundamental interest will be placed upon any auction block. This is well understood here and abroad.

Allied leaders expressed their understanding of the reasons that prompted the invitation to Mr. Khrushchev to visit America. While their hopes for progress revealed varying degrees of optimism, each was convinced that the effort was clearly one that had to be made.

Incidentally, I have every confidence that our people will greet Mr. Khrushchev and his wife and family with traditional American courtesy and dignity. We cannot fail to accord him the same consideration which the Soviet public gave to Vice President and Mrs. Nixon.⁴

Having just returned from France, it might be appropriate to recall a comment made about our Nation over a century ago by that remarkable observer, Tocqueville. He said,

⁴ For background on Vice President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union, see *BULLETIN* of Aug. 17, 1959, p. 227.

The great sustaining force of America is not simply to be found in its laws or institutions—but in the manners of her people, her habits of heart.

U.S. Convictions on Summit Meeting

Each of the leaders with whom I talked is fully aware of America's conviction that any agreement to hold a summit meeting must be based upon the certainty that our status and rights in Berlin will be respected. In addition we believe there must be some clear Soviet indication, no matter how given, that serious negotiation will bring about real promise of reducing the causes of world tensions.

Should a summit meeting on such a basis ensue:

We and our allies stand ready always to negotiate realistically with the Soviets on any mutually enforceable plan for a reduction in armaments.

We are prepared to make a real beginning toward solving the problems of a divided Germany.

We are hopeful of arranging for wider contacts in ideas, publications, persons, and information.

We are, in short, ready to negotiate on any subject within the limits dictated by the dedication of our Government and our people to the cause of a just peace and our loyalty to the United Nations and to its basic concept. That concept is that international disputes should be settled by peaceful means in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

I repeat; we shall not retreat from these ideals or principles or weaken in our resolution to remain strong in their defense. This means that we must be as concerned about the freedom of 2 million West Berliners as we are about the freedom of any part of our coalition.

We must be concerned about threats to freedom, no matter where they may occur.

Key to Progress in Negotiation

Though specific problems may at times present such difficulties as to prevent immediate, practicable solution, yet we must all understand that wherever freedom is denied or lost—whether in Asia, Africa, the Americas, or in Eastern Europe—by that much is our own Nation's freedom endangered. Firmness in support of fundamentals, with flexibility in tactics and method, is the key to any hope of progress in negotiation.

The choice before world leaders is momentous.

In the past, conferences have all too often been

President Returns From European Trip

Remarks by President Eisenhower¹

Just as always, when one goes outside the country, for no matter what purpose, for whatever length of time, it is always good to be back, and it certainly is good to be back today to see my wife and all these good people.

There was a serious purpose to this visit. All of us—the Heads of Government in West Germany, Britain and France—we knew that we were united in basic principle and purpose and in our pursuit of peace.

But always there comes up among friends, who are necessarily separated at such distances, small details of procedures and methods and tactics in the pursuit of great programs. These have to be talked out. Every serious—indeed, I don't want to use the word, "serious"—every troublesome little problem of this type has been talked out, and I am quite certain that for the moment at least everything is going splendidly.

Everywhere there was voiced governmental unity, but far more heartening than this was the evidence that can be seen in all of these countries of the deep friendship of these people for the American people.

There is nothing else; there is no other single fact of the modern world that is now so important, I think, as this: that the peoples of the Western World have for each other a very deep, abiding affection, mutual trust—and in this there was a tremendous personal, moral, and, indeed, a material and economic strength.

So I am glad to bring you that kind of news.

And now, just let me say again I am so glad to be back; and to every one of you who has come out here today to greet me: Thank you.

¹ Made at Washington, D.C., on Sept. 7 (White House press release).

characterized by suspicion, threat, and stubborn prejudice, and results have been barren and bleak. But, could we create an improved atmosphere of mutual understanding and serious purpose, it would be possible to attack, with renewed hope, the problems that divide us.

If the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has constructive ideas and suggestions that could provide the basis for responsible negotiation on the issues that divide us, we would welcome the opportunity to study them with our allies.

It is my profound hope that some real progress

will be forthcoming, even though no one would be so bold as to predict such an outcome.

Fellow Americans, we venerate more widely than any other document, except only the Bible, the American Declaration of Independence. That Declaration was more than a call to national action. It is a voice of conscience establishing clear, enduring values applicable to the lives of all men.

It stands enshrined today as a charter of human liberty and dignity. Until these things belong to every living person their pursuit is an unfinished business to occupy our children and generations to follow them.

In this spirit we stand firmly in defense of freedom.

In this spirit we cooperate with our friends and negotiate with those who oppose us.

If the forthcoming visit of Mr. Khrushchev to this Nation should bring to him some real appreciation of this spirit and this conscience, then indeed the venture would be a thousandfold worthwhile.

I know that all America prays to the Almighty that this might come to pass.

Four Powers Agree on Establishment of 10-Nation Disarmament Committee

Following is the text of a Four Power communique on disarmament negotiations released simultaneously on September 7 by the Governments of France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Press release 637 dated September 7

As was announced on August 5, 1959, prior to the closing of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva, the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics discussed possibilities by which further negotiations on the question of disarmament could be most effectively advanced.¹ Agreement has now been reached among the Governments of the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom,

¹ For text of a Four Power declaration on disarmament, see BULLETIN of Aug. 24, 1959, p. 269.

and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to set up a committee to consider disarmament matters. Understanding has also been reached that the participants in the disarmament committee will be the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, and Rumania, subject to the agreement of all the named states.

The United Nations Charter recognizes that disarmament matters are of world-wide interest and concern. Accordingly ultimate responsibility for general disarmament measures rests with the United Nations. The setting up of the disarmament committee in no way diminishes or encroaches upon the United Nations' responsibilities in this field. In setting up the committee the special responsibility resting on the great powers to find a basis for agreement is taken into account.

The four governments conceive of this committee as a useful means of exploring through mutual consultations avenues of possible progress toward such agreements and recommendations on the limitation and reduction of all types of armaments and armed forces under effective international control as may, in the first instance, be of particular relevance to the countries participating in these deliberations. Furthermore, it is the hope of the four governments that the results achieved in these deliberations will provide a useful basis for the consideration of disarmament in the United Nations.

It is the intention of the four governments that the United Nations Disarmament Commission will be kept appropriately informed of the progress of the deliberations of the committee. For this purpose the four governments have agreed that the committee will present reports on its work to the United Nations Disarmament Commission and through it to the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. As a first step in this direction, they have requested the Secretary General, in accordance with Resolution 1252-D (XIII), to convene the Disarmament Commission during September 1959 if feasible, in order that the members may be fully informed of the nature and purpose of the disarmament committee.

The four governments will consult with the United Nations Secretary General with respect

to providing appropriate facilities to the newly established committee. They expect that the committee will begin its work early in 1960 in Geneva.

Disarmament Commission Welcomes Consultations by New Committee

Following is a statement made in the U.N. Disarmament Commission on September 10 by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, together with the text of a resolution adopted by the Commission on September 10.

STATEMENT BY MR. LODGE

U.S./U.N. press release 3219

Since 1957 substantive negotiations on disarmament have centered on the subjects of surprise attack and nuclear weapons testing and have proceeded outside the framework of the United Nations, although United Nations facilities have been used and reports to the United Nations have been made on the progress of these negotiations. We have felt that progress in either of these two important fields would facilitate progress on real disarmament measures. But the fact is that there have been no general disarmament negotiations since the deliberations of the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee¹ were interrupted in September 1957.

The United States regrets this situation. We believe—and we hope this belief will be shared by the great majority of the members of this body—that progress in so crucial a matter as disarmament must not be allowed to founder on the rocks of procedure. Fruitless arguments about composition cannot be allowed to become a substitute for negotiations on the substance of disarmament.

Accordingly, we are and we have been resolved to do everything in our power to resume the negotiations which broke off in 1957. This is the background which led to the communique issued

on September 7 by the Governments of France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. This communique, which is to be found in document DC/144, was transmitted to the Secretary-General on the date of its issuance. The communique announces the establishment, outside of the framework of the United Nations, of a Disarmament Committee to be composed of Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Poland, Rumania, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States. The communique declares that the four governments conceive of this Committee as a useful means of exploring together avenues of possible progress toward agreement on the limitation and reduction of all types of armaments and armed forces under effective international control. The communique also expresses the hope of the four governments that "the results achieved in these deliberations will provide a useful basis for the consideration of disarmament in the United Nations."

In recognition of the basic charter responsibility of the United Nations it is intended that this Commission will be kept appropriately informed of the progress of the deliberations of the Committee. For this purpose it is agreed that reports on the work of the Committee will be presented to the Disarmament Commission.

We hope that the Commission will be able to express its opinion on this subject in the form of a resolution to be incorporated, perhaps, in our report to the General Assembly. I have just seen the text of the resolution which is on the desks now, and I am glad to announce support of the United States for it.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

U.N. doc. DC/146

The Disarmament Commission,

Recognizing that ultimate responsibility for general disarmament measures is vested in the United Nations by its Charter,

1. Takes note of the communication addressed to the Secretary-General on 7 September 1959 on behalf of the Governments of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States, and the Four-Power communique appended to that communication;

2. Welcomes the resumption of the consultations announced in the communique;

3. Welcomes the declared intention of the countries concerned to keep the Disarmament Commission appro-

¹ For a statement made by Mr. Lodge in the Disarmament Commission on Sept. 30, 1957, see BULLETIN of Oct. 21, 1957, p. 631.

privately informed of the progress of their deliberations;

4. *Expresses the hope* that the results achieved in these deliberations will provide a useful basis for the consideration of disarmament in the United Nations;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide appro-

priate facilities for the proposed consultations;

6. *Recommends* to the General Assembly that the Disarmament Commission as set up in General Assembly resolution 1252 (XIII) should continue in being and be convened whenever deemed necessary.

The United Nations: Its Role in a Changing World

by Francis O. Wilcox

*Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs*¹

The importance which I attach to our meeting is based on the fact that the American Association for the United Nations and the other nongovernmental organizations represented here serve as a major source of public support for the United Nations in its quest for lasting peace. Support for the United Nations is, of course, one of the fundamental aspects of our foreign policy. Your year-round efforts to promote this objective are essential to our leadership in the United Nations. They are also essential to the effective functioning of the organization. We in the Government are grateful for the splendid job you are doing.

We also can take pride in the strong delegation which will represent us at the forthcoming Assembly.² This team, under the able and vigorous leadership of Secretary Herter and Ambassador Lodge, represents a cross section of American life at its best. Its members represent the legislative and executive branches of Government, the professions, business, and labor. They are drawn from varied segments of our vast population. In this diversity lies much of our strength as a nation. I am sure that our delegation will represent the United States forcefully and effectively at this session of the Assembly.

Mr. Khrushchev's Visit

Mr. Khrushchev arrives here next Tuesday [September 15], the day the General Assembly

opens. Everywhere millions of people are focusing their attention on his visit and the discussions which he will have with President Eisenhower. This event has tended to overshadow somewhat the problems confronting the forthcoming Assembly. Mr. Khrushchev's impending arrival has raised new hopes for a relaxation of the tensions which grip the world today. Some people sincerely believe that his discussions with the President may mark the dawn of a new era of international good will.

Whether the Khrushchev visit will have any significant impact upon the United Nations or upon the General Assembly, only time can tell. Certainly Mr. Khrushchev has it within his power to adopt a more cooperative attitude and thus to inject new vitality into the United Nations if he should choose to do so. I would suggest, however, that we ought not to look for any miracles. In saying this I do not mean to be pessimistic about the prospects of negotiating with the Russians. We have found areas of agreement with the Soviet Union before, and, if the Soviet leaders wish to negotiate in good faith, we can do it again.

Nor do I mean to be pessimistic about the results of Mr. Khrushchev's visit. On the contrary, if his discussions with the President help create an atmosphere in which some slight progress can be made on some of the issues which divide us, they will more than justify their purpose. Such progress could also give new vigor and effectiveness to the United Nations where differences between the U.S.S.R. and the free world have impeded the work of the Organization.

¹ Address made before the American Association for the United Nations at New York, N.Y., on Sept. 13 (press release 646 dated Sept. 12).

² For a list of the U.S. delegation, see p. 460.

Soviet Attitude Toward the U.N.

Fourteen years ago, when the United Nations was created, it was hoped that the permanent members would continue to work together to win the peace as they had cooperated to win the war. But these high hopes were shattered by the advent of the cold war and the growing cleavages between East and West. While the United States and many other free-world members dedicated themselves to the objectives of the charter, the Soviets utilized the United Nations to advance their own interests and those of international communism.

You know the story well. The simple fact is that the Soviet Union did not want a strong United Nations. They believed that a powerful world organization, capable of keeping the peace, would run counter to their goal of winning the world to communism. They wanted to fish in troubled waters, and they did not want any U.N. game wardens looking over their shoulders.

It is, of course, possible that the Soviet Union may come to see that there are advantages in using the United Nations to ease world tensions. Mr. Khrushchev's trip, and the forthcoming session of the Assembly, may throw some light on this possibility. For our part we would welcome solid Soviet support for the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter. We believed in 1945 that great-power cooperation within the framework of the United Nations would constitute the best possible guarantee for world peace. We still think so.

With this background in mind I would like to turn to some of the major issues confronting the 14th Assembly.

Laos

Before doing so, however, I would like to comment briefly on the United Nations action on Laos, which made headlines during the past week. The decision of the Security Council to establish a factfinding subcommittee on Laos is a further striking illustration of the flexibility of the United Nations and of its capacity to take constructive action in a crisis.^a

When confronted with an appeal for assistance from Laos, one of its smallest members, the United Nations could not sit idly by. We our-

selves had no doubt that aggression had been taking place in a now-familiar pattern. However, in view of the legitimate concern of the Council to learn the facts at firsthand, the logical first step was to provide a Council mechanism to examine the evidence. With this purpose in mind, the Security Council established its subcommittee on Laos "to conduct such inquiries as it may determine necessary and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible."

The subcommittee has organized itself with commendable speed and will shortly arrive in Laos. We hope that, in addition to the value of its factfinding function, the presence of United Nations representatives in Laos will have a quieting effect in the area and serve as a deterrent to further aggression.

No doubt you have read the Soviet complaints that this action by the Security Council was "illegal." I want to assure you that this action by the Security Council is fully consonant with the procedures laid down in the United Nations Charter. Moreover, it is of great importance as a demonstration that the Security Council can move quickly in response to an urgent need of a United Nations member even when the five permanent members are not in agreement. In fact, the resolution adopted by the Security Council was virtually identical with language which had been used in previous Security Council action under article 29 of the charter. As you may know, article 29 is found in the section of chapter V of the charter clearly headed "Procedure." That article authorizes the Security Council to establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary.

I should like to stress in this connection that the four-nation group is strictly a factfinding group. It has no authority to commit the United Nations to substantive decisions in any sense, and, should further steps by the United Nations prove necessary, they would have to be authorized by the Security Council or the General Assembly. Thus we believe the resolution was correctly judged by all Security Council members, except the Soviet Union, to be a procedural matter and, therefore, not subject to veto.

The Representation of China

Last year at this time we were gravely concerned by the aggressive military action of the Chinese Communists in the Taiwan Strait area.

^a See p. 456.

The Communist objective, of course, was not the offshore islands but Formosa itself. Happily this crucial link in the defense of the free world remains intact though the harassment continues. It does so largely because we made it clear beyond a doubt that we would stand by our treaty obligations to defend Formosa against armed attack.

You may hear the argument made that, if the Chinese Communists were only in the United Nations, their conduct would improve. This, unhappily, amounts to wishful thinking. There is nothing to suggest that a regime which has scorned and defied the United Nations while outside will change its basic policy objectives by being brought into the United Nations. On the contrary, if the Chinese Communists find that a seat in the United Nations is the reward for lawless behavior, they will be even more inclined to continue on that path. The Chinese Communists are aggressors condemned as such by the United Nations. They have shown only disrespect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The United Nations itself would suffer if it permitted the Chinese Communists to aggress their way into the Organization whose charter provides that it is to be made up of peace-loving states.

With respect to this issue, our position is well known. As in the past, we will resist all efforts designed to displace the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China—one of the original members of the United Nations—by the Chinese Communists, whose unfitness for a United Nations seat has again been dramatically demonstrated by their conduct in Tibet. I have every confidence that our views on this matter will again be sustained by the General Assembly.

Tibet

Since our last meeting together the world has been shocked by the terrible atrocities of Communist China against the population of Tibet. The Dalai Lama, forced to flee, has said that the Chinese action was calculated to exterminate both the Tibetan people and institutions. This grave charge of genocide has been examined by the International Commission of Jurists. Its preliminary findings—based on documents and statements from Tibetan and Chinese Communist sources—were published last month. The 208-

page report, sent to the United Nations and to all United Nations delegations, presents evidence that the Chinese Communists have committed acts violating the norms established by the Genocide Convention of 1948. Evidence is also presented showing that these acts were intentionally directed to bring about the destruction of the Tibetan nation and religion.

The Dalai Lama has now appealed to the United Nations for assistance. For our part we welcome the Tibetan initiative in bringing the plight of the Tibetan people directly to the United Nations. We believe that the world should hear what he has to say, and we believe also that the situation in Tibet has important implications for free peoples everywhere. I am confident that the United Nations will wish to give its earnest attention to the tragic situation of the Tibetan people whose fundamental human rights are being flagrantly violated.

Hungary

I turn now to the problem of Hungary. The cold-blooded suppression by armed Soviet might of the Hungarian people's valiant bid for freedom in 1956 is one of the blackest pages in history.

The reaction of the United Nations to this brutal act was immediate and vigorous. In spite of this, the Soviet Union and the puppet Hungarian regime have consistently defied every effort by the United Nations to redress this enormous wrong. Most recent of these was the appointment of Sir Leslie Munro by the last General Assembly as its representative to report on developments in Hungary. Sir Leslie reported recently⁴ that his efforts to enter Hungary and the Soviet Union had been met with outright rebuffs.

A shocked world community has responded vigorously to these acts of defiance. On the initiative of the United States, each General Assembly since the tragedy of Hungary began has refrained from approving the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

We shall oppose any action to approve the credentials of representatives of the Hungarian regime in the forthcoming Assembly. This will give expression once again to the sense of revulsion of civilized mankind in the face of the con-

⁴ U.N. press release GA/1807 dated July 9.

tinuing repressive measures against the Hungarian people. The Assembly also will wish to give its consideration to Sir Leslie Munro's report on recent developments in Hungary. In this connection, we will, of course, support the continuation of Sir Leslie's mandate as United Nations representative on Hungary.

Disarmament

An ugly fact of life today is that mankind has developed the ability to destroy himself. Faced with this compelling situation, the United States and other free-world states are deeply impressed with the necessity of reaching workable agreements on disarmament. We held this view, I might add, even when we had a monopoly on nuclear weapons.

I do not think I need to recount to this group the long history of the efforts we have made to achieve progress toward disarmament and of the disappointments we have encountered. The West has always insisted that an agreement on arms limitation to be meaningful and compatible with our security interests had to be based on a reliable system of inspection and control. The Soviet Union has resisted this concept, sometimes in principle, but usually by refusing to accept specific provisions designed to establish reliable control.

One specific area in which progress has been made is in the negotiations between the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union for an agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests.⁵ This conference, temporarily in recess, will shortly resume its deliberations in Geneva. Agreement has been reached by the conference on a number of draft treaty articles, largely setting forth the framework of an international control organization. Recently a technical group at the conference reached general agreement on measures for detection of nuclear explosions at high altitudes and in outer space. While this progress has been encouraging, very serious problems remain unresolved. These include the issues of on-site inspection, staffing of control posts, Soviet demands for vetoes in the control organization, and technical problems relating to underground explosions. These are

incredibly complicated and difficult negotiations, but as we pursue them we are mindful that, if progress can be made on the testing issue, we may open up avenues of progress in the disarmament field where the problem of control, as I have said, is fundamental.

In the broader disarmament field, we have recently succeeded in reaching agreement with the Soviet Union on a new forum for negotiations.⁶ The new Committee consists of five Soviet-bloc states and five Western states. You know how hard we have tried, and tried repeatedly, to engage in meaningful disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union in the United Nations. The fact that we have agreed to a group of this composition established outside of the United Nations framework will indicate to you how deeply we feel that no stone must be left unturned which might bring us even some slight progress in the disarmament field.

The new group will begin its discussions in Geneva early next year. In connection with this development I want to make one thing perfectly clear to you: The United States recognizes fully that ultimate responsibility for general disarmament measures rests with the United Nations. The United Nations thus has fundamental and continuing responsibilities for disarmament. We have always taken this view and there is no intention on our part to "bypass" the United Nations now. It is our hope that results may be achieved in the deliberations of the new Committee which will provide a useful basis for the renewed consideration of disarmament in the United Nations.

Meanwhile, the U.N. Disarmament Commission has just met,⁷ and the Assembly will shortly be discussing these questions and deciding upon the nature of future United Nations disarmament machinery. I have no doubt that this debate will again reveal the sense of importance and urgency which all members attach to this problem.

Outer Space

One of the most exciting adventures of our time is the conquest of outer space. A moment's reflection reminds us that mankind, with a little foresight and cooperation, can usher in an era of great

⁵ For a Department statement announcing U.S. extension of voluntary suspension of nuclear weapons tests, see BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1959, p. 374.

⁶ See p. 438.

⁷ See p. 439.

benefit to everyone. The United States recognizes that difficult and time-consuming problems would be involved in establishing a control system for an agreement on the *military* uses of outer space. We, therefore, concluded that international cooperation in *peaceful* uses of outer space could and should proceed without waiting for agreement on the more complicated question of disarmament.

You will recall the initiative which we took at the last General Assembly. It resulted in the creation of an 18-member committee to study problems involved in the peaceful uses of outer space and to report its findings to the next Assembly.⁸ That report has now been published.⁹ It is impressive not only in its scope and dimensions but also in the objectivity of its scientific, technical, and legal approach.

The Committee reports on: the activities and resources of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other international bodies in this field; the nature of international cooperative programs that might appropriately be sponsored by the United Nations; the possible United Nations organizational arrangements to aid international cooperation in this field; and the nature of legal problems which may arise.

I may say that the Committee's recommendations are impressive with far-reaching implications. They indicate useful paths to be explored in the scientific, legal, and organizational fields. I am sure that we, as a nation, are prepared to proceed with their implementation. Regrettably, the U.S.S.R., a member of the Committee, refused to participate in its work because its demands on composition of the group were not met. As the United Nations continues its work in this important area, we hope that all members, including the Soviet Union, will join in this new endeavor, putting aside international political prejudices for the greater good of man.

You will agree, I am sure, that no member of the United Nations should be allowed to dictate the membership of any United Nations committee. Outer space in particular is of concern to *all* members. We will continue to insist on reasonable representation of U.N. membership on any U.N. committee in this field—or in any other field for that matter.

⁸ BULLETIN of Jan. 5, 1959, p. 24, and July 27, 1959, p. 138.

⁹ U.N. doc. A/4141.

It is our hope that this Assembly will accept the report and its recommendations and will provide machinery which will be helpful in moving ahead in meeting the challenge of outer space.

Palestine Refugees

The plight of approximately 1 million Arab refugees from Palestine remains one of the most complex problems confronting the United Nations. These refugees, most of whom are living in Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and Lebanon, are receiving relief and other essential services from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). The profound concern of the United States over the Palestine refugee situation has been demonstrated by the fact that we have contributed a major portion of UNRWA's budgetary needs up to now—nearly a quarter of a billion dollars in 11 years.

Admittedly this is a great deal of money. But I might point out that UNRWA has been doing a remarkably effective job in caring for the dietary, housing, medical, and educational needs of the refugees at a total cost of less than 10 cents a day per refugee.

Unfortunately, political factors in the refugee situation have hampered progress toward a fundamental solution of this problem. It is an issue which constitutes a potentially dangerous element of instability in the Near East. The United States believes both Israel and the Arab host states have a serious responsibility to strive for a resolution of this problem in a spirit of mutual accommodation.

Since the present mandate of UNRWA is due to expire next June, the General Assembly at its forthcoming session must examine the refugee problem in a fundamental way.

The Assembly will have before it a report by the Secretary-General making a number of recommendations about the future of the Palestine refugees.¹⁰ Other proposals will probably be forthcoming from various delegations. The United States will, of course, be interested in all ideas which may be put forward at the Assembly. While we regard favorably certain elements of Mr. Hammarskjöld's plan, we are concerned that

¹⁰ U.N. doc. A/4121 and Corr. 1.

it seems not to go far enough in providing the means by which adequate progress toward an ultimate solution could be made.

The United States considers that all of the states in the area must face this vexatious problem with realism and with compassion for the lot of the refugees themselves. Our keen interest in the future of these refugees is a continuing one. We shall do all that is reasonably possible to assist in making progress toward an equitable solution.

United Nations Emergency Force

The United Nations Emergency Force continues to make an important contribution to the maintenance of peace and relative stability in its area of operations. This Force, which consists of some 5,400 troops from seven members of the United Nations, is stationed along the armistice demarcation line between Egypt and Israel and at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba.

UNEF has done a splendid job. We believe that it should be continued until conditions permit its being discharged of its responsibilities. Unfortunately, the problem of financing the Force remains an extremely difficult one. The Soviets have thus far refused to pay any of their UNEF assessment. We hope that they will alter their position and thus give concrete evidence of their professed desire for peace in the Middle East. The United States for its part will continue its full support of UNEF, including substantial financial contributions.

The excellent record of UNEF has reinforced our conviction that standby arrangements are highly desirable for a permanent U.N. peace force ready to serve immediately in any part of the world at the request of the Security Council or General Assembly. You may recall that both President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles strongly recommended such a step last year. At the present time the Secretary-General is consulting those member states who contributed troops to UNEF or the United Nations Observer Group for Lebanon to see whether in their military planning they would take into account the possibility of future demands for assistance from the U.N.

I sincerely hope that the Secretary-General will meet with success in these efforts and that

the coming year will see real progress toward further strengthening of U.N. machinery.

Other Issues

So far I have concerned myself mainly with the political issues which confront the forthcoming Assembly. It is true that U.N. political activities are the most dramatic aspect of its work. But they are not by any means its entire task. We would be doing the Organization a grave injustice if we were to underestimate the vital and fundamental role it is playing in other areas of human endeavor.

In the economic field the United Nations continues to move ahead on the urgent task of helping to raise the standard of living and the general well-being of peoples in many lands.

The United States, as you are aware, was in the forefront of efforts which resulted in the establishment of the U.N. technical assistance program and the Special Fund. The Fund, which is an extension of the technical assistance program, makes it possible, among other things, to conduct surveys of natural resources in underdeveloped nations and assist in the equipping and staffing of technological, statistical, and public administration institutes. Surveys will determine the best means of utilizing existing resources of individual nations. Institutes will provide the trained personnel especially needed in a developing society.

Meanwhile, Fund operations are already under way. The first contract—for a survey of the Volta Flood Plain in Ghana—has been concluded. Others have been selected and are in process. More will follow. These projects do not make headlines in the American press. But I can assure you that they do in the countries concerned.

Our own contributions to this effort have been substantial. Last year we pledged ourselves to contribute 40 percent of the cost of both the Fund and the technical assistance program. Had the contributions of other nations been sufficient, the total amount of capital available for use by the Fund and by the expanded technical assistance program would have been close to the initial goal of \$100 million. Now, unfortunately, only about \$56 million is available. I hope that other nations will see their way clear to increase their

contributions to an extent which will enable us to approach the original goal.

We have also been active in other United Nations efforts to improve man's lot.

In the important area of development financing we have doubled our contribution to the World Bank and increased our contribution to the International Monetary Fund by 50 percent.

Progress is also being made toward the establishment of an International Development Association which, it is planned, will be associated with the World Bank. The proposed IDA would be designed to provide loan funds on flexible terms for the economic advancement of less developed countries whose needs cannot be adequately met under International Bank lending programs. If established, it would accomplish on an international scale what we are attempting to achieve on a bilateral basis through the U.S. Development Loan Fund. We are giving our full support to this new venture.¹¹ We can take honest pride in the fact that the United States has taken the lead in creating and strengthening these instruments of international development aid.

We have every intention of continuing our support of the economic activities of the United Nations. We hope that other nations will put an equal premium on these activities which are of such lasting importance.

In the field of human rights the United Nations is making substantial progress through its sustained efforts to combat the social conditions from which political unrest and tension stem. In this connection I would like to congratulate the American Association for the United Nations on the establishment of its own Committee on Human Rights, which will engage in a broad education program dealing with all elements of this urgent problem. This approach is a particularly significant contribution, since human rights become meaningful only as these are understood at the grassroots level by our communities.

Substantial progress is also being made in the trust territories through the untiring efforts of the Trusteeship Council. French Cameroun and French Togoland, which have achieved a substantial degree of autonomy in the past 3 years, will

achieve their complete sovereignty next year. Specific dates and plans for the independence of Somaliland and Western Samoa have been submitted to the Council. These developments provide concrete evidence of the forward movement of the United Nations in assisting these peoples to satisfy their legitimate national aspirations for self-government or independence.

It is essential that the strength and the efficiency of the Trusteeship Council be fully maintained until its role is completed and the Council has in effect liquidated itself. In order to do so, the Council must maintain the balance required by the charter between the administering and non-administering members as trust territories reach self-government or independence and the number of administering states consequently diminishes. I am confident that this organizational problem can be solved in a way that will enable the Council to continue its effective efforts to guide newly emerging nations along the road to independence.

Concluding Comments

I said earlier in my remarks that Mr. Khrushchev could do a great deal to make the United Nations a more effective force for world peace if he chose to do so. Here are a few steps the Soviet Union could take:

—It could greatly strengthen the peace machinery of the Organization by supporting the creation of a United Nations Peace Force.

—It could make possible a break in the disarmament deadlock by accepting a workable system of inspection and control.

—It could help relax world tensions by joining in the U.N. effort to encourage cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

—It could help revitalize the Security Council by agreeing to refrain from excessive use of the veto.

—It could help expand the economic and social work of the U.N. by assuming its fair share of the Organization's expenses.

On our part, we will continue to give our full support to measures calculated to strengthen the United Nations. To that end we remain very much in favor of convening a charter review conference.¹² We realize that such a conference

¹¹ For excerpts from the report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems, see *BULLETIN* of Sept. 14, 1959, p. 392.

¹² For a statement of the U.S. position on charter review, see *ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1959, p. 429.

could not now succeed given the present state of world affairs, but we intend to move on toward this goal at the earliest practicable time.

Meanwhile, even without a charter review conference, we believe steps should be taken to revitalize the Security Council. As the General Assembly becomes ever larger and more unwieldy, we must find appropriate ways of restoring to the Security Council some of the power and influence it formerly enjoyed. Perhaps the prompt action taken by the Council in the Laos situation is a good augury for the future.

In addition, I would like to urge again the enlargement of the Security Council. At the San Francisco conference the Council was designed to serve a membership of 51 nations. Today the number has grown to 82. In 1960 it will probably reach 86. If we were to add at least two more members to the Council, it would increase the stature of that body and give more adequate representation to the new members of the U.N., particularly the countries of Asia and Africa.

During the past 14 years the members of the U.N. have laboriously and painfully built a truly remarkable machinery for peace. This mechanism is designed not only to help maintain peace but to help promote the well-being of mankind everywhere.

In pursuing man's eternal quest for a just peace, we should seek to utilize the United Nations to the fullest possible extent. This is the great lesson which the experience of the ages has taught us.

U.S. Favors U.N. Hearing on Tibet

*Department Statement*¹

The United States welcomes the initiative of the Dalai Lama in bringing the plight of the Tibetan people directly to the attention of the United Nations. We believe the world should hear what he has to say, for the situation in Tibet has implications for free peoples everywhere.

¹ Read to news correspondents on Sept. 10 by Robert J. McCloskey, press officer.

Uniting the Free World Through Religion and Education

*Remarks by President Eisenhower*¹

My attitude toward one of the functions of the church in promoting peace is one of appreciation of the great service it can perform in uniting better the free nations of the world. I think we should never forget we are supporting principles which are after all religious in their derivation. And I mean politically speaking, as against a godless atheism; and because this is an atheistic ideology, denying all human rights, any kind of human dignity, we have an enemy operating under a dictatorship that has us always at a disadvantage.

We are a democracy. We achieve our decisions by debate, by a representative form of government. They have a great advantage, whether it be economic or military or any other kind of contest, of having in one mailed fist all authority.

Now this is, I should hasten to say, not in the long run a particular form of efficiency. I believe it was Woodrow Wilson who said, "The highest form of efficiency is the spontaneous cooperation of a free people." And when the chips are down, that is exactly correct. If we declare a purpose to pursue an objective that will be costly, in sacrifice, in material sacrifice, maybe in suffering or in life, we will go on to the end. But when in a dictatorship that sacrifice and suffering holds more fear for the individual than his fear of the "boss," then chaos ensues. This happened in the last days of the czars, and it happened in the last days of Hitler, and in other dictatorships, including Napoleon.

Now, to go back to my main thesis that, by reminding ourselves always in every free country, every type of free government is a political expression of some form of religious belief, we have a great force of unity and we achieve among ourselves, by spontaneous cooperation, the kind of power that the other fellow cannot, in the long run, command.

The Founding Fathers, when they wanted to explain to the world that this new form of government was united in America, and noted that

¹ Made before a delegation from the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America at Washington, D.C., on Sept. 9 (White House press release).

they had a decent respect for the opinion of mankind, said that "We hold that all men are endowed by their Creator"—in other words, to explain our form of government you had to call upon the Divine Creator.

This, it seems to me, is the strongest link that we have among all the countries of the West. Indeed I think this even includes the Mohammedans, the Buddhists, and the rest; because they, too, strongly believe that they achieve a right to human dignity because of their relationship to the Supreme Being. We must remember always that there are others that can have this same feeling of unity, because of their recognition of a religious destiny. So, what you are doing, what you are attempting to do, is, to my mind, one of the finest things that you could possibly undertake.

Now I was going to talk for 10 seconds, and I have already for 10 minutes, but I will say one other thing: I have been giving my mind and heart to this business of foreign relations for a long time, long before I was President. And one thing is always clear—Jefferson spoke about it, and many of our former statesmen: the need for an informed public opinion. Because, since public opinion is the force that makes our country operate, makes it function, we must be perfectly sure that that public opinion is applied in the right direction, or we are not going on the right road.

I cannot tell you how much I have concerned myself about trying to take simple issues in the foreign-relations field or indeed in the economic, and as I would like to suggest to you, the need for a sound dollar. I take these subjects, when I can, right squarely into press conferences, on the television. I am going to talk about foreign relations tomorrow evening a little bit—15 minutes. But always I feel the necessity of trying to make the facts available to the American public. And sometimes, you know, you have to tackle them and hold them down to feed these facts to them. The man that plows a furrow in Dickinson County, or works on a Brooklyn dock, or drives a taxicab—when you begin to talk to him about the need for helping the people of Ghana, or of French Africa—well, he wonders what in the world you are talking about.

Now you give the facts, but it doesn't always penetrate, so there has to be education—sometimes almost spoon-fed and probably with the aid

of a hammer. But we need it. We talk all the time in Government and the public print about the woeful ignorance of foreigners about America. One thing we must be very careful about: How fully does the average American citizen understand his country, its problems, and its role in the world?

So, these two things—uniting the free world through this common respect for religion; and educating ourselves as to the type of problem that we must solve—if we are going to be true to those values that our religion teaches us. These are two great works to which I should think all of us could dedicate ourselves full time.

Now just one more observation before I go out. I had a long talk with Cardinal Spellman on the phone. He is an old, old friend of mine—a good one. And I assure you that our Catholic brothers are joining you in these hours of prayer for peace—with the hope that those of Government that have to direct affairs in relationship with Russia and with others, can have some guidance that will come about because of this universality of prayer. He assured me in very emphatic manner on that, and I thought you might like to know it.

The Teacher Exchange Program and Mutual Understanding

Remarks by Robert H. Thayer¹

It is with special personal warmth that I greet you tonight and welcome you to the United States.

Your visit here will, I hope, serve to do two very important things. First of all, I trust it will make it possible for you to explain to every American with whom you come in contact, whether in or out of the classrooms, the school, or the university, as much as you can about your own country and the people who inhabit it.

Americans don't know enough about the way people from lands across the seas think and talk

¹ Made at Washington, D.C., on Aug. 26 (press release 621 dated Aug. 31) at a dinner given by the National Advisory Committee for the Exchange of Teachers, Office of Education, for 150 foreign teachers arriving in the U.S. under the Fulbright program. Mr. Thayer is Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for the Coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations.

and act. They have not the same understanding of cultures different from their own that you have. I remember asking a Dutch friend of mine once how he learned to speak such perfect English and French. He explained to me very simply that in an hour's voyage from his home he was in a country where either English or French was the native tongue.

Fortunately, today distances have disappeared and the task of instilling in the minds of Americans an understanding of the people of foreign lands is therefore much simpler, but there is still much to be done and your very presence in this country during the next months will, I know, make a great contribution to this important objective.

Secondly, I remind you of the wise words of Prime Minister Nehru of India. He remarked once that "a teacher's task is not simply to tell his pupils what is in his mind, but to find out what is in *their* minds." So you also through your pupils as well as through your everyday contacts here will have the opportunity to learn about Americans, both good things and bad things, because, I am glad to say, everything in America is not perfect (in spite of what you may have learned in your orientation classes!)—but in any event you will, I hope, get to understand us, and mutual understanding is the most vital element of human relations today.

This doesn't mean that we all have to like each other. Some of my ultraconservative friends who like to pooh-pooh the exchange-of-persons programs say to me, "What makes you think that to get to know someone will automatically make you like him? It may have the opposite effect." We all know that likes and dislikes depend on a great many things—chemistry plays no small part sometimes—but I am not talking about marriage, I am talking about understanding—and understanding people we don't like makes living with them even closely perfectly feasible. Dislike, coupled with lack of understanding, is what causes clashes that lead to war.

The basic purpose of our programs in the Department of State which I have the honor of heading up in the Bureau of International Cultural Relations is to bring about mutual understanding between peoples. In creating this bureau the Department has emphasized its conviction of the great importance of cultural rela-

tions. You in your capacity as teachers have a wonderful opportunity in this field. A Burmese visitor to this country once said, "A teacher's influence never stops—it goes on until eternity."

Your understanding of America can be imparted to others of your countrymen when you return to your native land. We hope you will do this. We hope many more teachers from your country will come and visit us. I wonder if students aren't a little bit like one's own children. My sister said to me the other day, "Why is it that you can do so much more with my daughter than I can?" I replied, "For the same reason that my son will believe what you tell him quicker than he will if it comes from me." If students were taught by teachers who came from without their own country, would they perhaps learn faster? A permanent teacher exchange between countries would perhaps quicken the true advent of "one world" by many decades—who knows?

In any event, on behalf of the Department of State, may I say how gratified we are at your coming and with what great hopes we anticipate the contribution you, I am sure, will make to the furthering of mutual understanding between our country and yours. You represent, as I said in the beginning, the greatest profession in the world today. Education in my opinion is inevitably going to destroy one of the greatest forces of evil of all time—international communism.

Our British colleagues will no doubt recall the remarks of Lord Brougham in a speech in the House of Commons in 1828. He said: "Education makes people easy to lead but difficult to drive—easy to govern but impossible to enslave."

You teachers of the free world whose mission it is to educate have a great opportunity and a great responsibility. We are happy to have you with us, and we hope your stay here will be as pleasant and profitable to each one of you as I am sure it is going to be for every American who will have the good fortune to meet you.

Exchange Program Begins for Public Administrators

The Department of State announced on September 2 (press release 627) the arrival that day of 10 foreign public administrators from 7 countries

to participate in a 4-month program of study and practical experience in the field of public administration and to observe American life and institutions.¹

The International Educational Exchange Service of the Department of State is sponsoring the program, which will be arranged by the Governmental Affairs Institute, a private nonprofit organization, with the cooperation of the University of Pittsburgh. Prof. William W. Boyer of the university's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs has been working with the institute for several months in planning the program.

The visiting specialists will have opportunities to exchange ideas, views, and opinions both with their conferees from other countries and with leading American administrators and educators. They will observe local government units at various levels throughout the country.

The group will be in Washington until September 8 for a general introduction to the United States at the Washington International Center and for program orientation at the Governmental Affairs Institute. From September 9 to 12 the group will visit Philadelphia briefly to observe municipal government, to visit famous historic landmarks, and to meet American families. For the next month the visitors will engage in a seminar at the University of Pittsburgh on the fundamentals of public administration. During the following 2-month period each visitor will be placed in several individual internship situations, with guidance from local sponsors, where he will obtain practical experience of special interest to his own individual career.

Beginning December 9, the group will reassemble in Pittsburgh for a week that will be devoted to two short seminars. The first will comprise a discussion of various facets of American life. The second will give the visitors an opportunity to compare notes on their practical professional experience as related to the earlier seminar on the fundamentals of public administration.

The group will spend the last week of their visit in Washington, where the Governmental Affairs Institute will evaluate the program.

¹For names of participants, see press release 627.

Views Invited on GATT Relations With Three Countries

Press release 641 dated September 9

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

As a result of public notices issued on September 9 by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements and the Committee for Reciprocity Information, public views are requested regarding the provisional accession of Switzerland and Israel to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and regarding relations with Yugoslavia under the General Agreement closer than the observer status now applicable to that country.

As part of the arrangements for Swiss provisional accession to the GATT, tariff negotiations were conducted in 1958 between Switzerland and 14 contracting parties, not including the United States. Under the arrangements Switzerland, with certain exceptions, and other contracting parties will apply the provisions of the GATT to each other. Since the United States did not participate in the 1958 tariff negotiations with Switzerland, participation by the United States in these arrangements would not involve the reduction of any U.S. tariff rates or the addition of any new items to the U.S. schedule of concessions in the GATT.

U.S.-Swiss trade relations are at present governed by a bilateral trade agreement, first negotiated in 1936 and subsequently supplemented. It is proposed that the tariff concessions and related portions of this agreement continue in force between the United States and Switzerland outside the framework of the GATT. However, since a number of the general provisions of the bilateral agreement relate generally to the same matters as are dealt with in the general provision of the GATT, the United States is considering suspension of some of these provisions of the bilateral agreement while the GATT provisions apply.

The arrangements for the provisional accession of Israel would be similar to those with respect to Switzerland, except that no tariff negotiations have been carried on between Israel and contracting parties and, consequently, no new tariff concessions are involved, and Israel would not

be accorded direct rights in the existing tariff concessions of contracting parties. Moreover, the United States has no bilateral trade agreement with Israel.

The arrangements with Yugoslavia, which has also not carried on tariff negotiations and with which the United States has no bilateral trade agreement, would be much looser than those with Switzerland and Israel to take into account the character of the current economic system of Yugoslavia. However, the Government of Yugoslavia has expressed a desire for relations with the Contracting Parties to the GATT closer than those of an observer, and the United States and other contracting parties have viewed sympathetically the possibilities of accomplishing this. Under the arrangements Yugoslavia would apply the provisions of the GATT to the extent compatible with the current economic system of Yugoslavia, and in return contracting parties would apply to Yugoslavia such treatment as will achieve an equitable balance of rights and obligations as envisaged in the GATT. Moreover, the objectives of the GATT are to be taken as the basis for commercial relations between Yugoslavia and contracting parties, and questions arising under the arrangements may be considered in bilateral and multilateral consultations.

Interested persons may express views regarding any aspect of these proposals. Such views will be carefully considered before a final decision is reached as to the U.S. position with regard to them.

Written views should be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information, the interdepartmental committee which receives views concerning trade agreement matters, by October 9, 1959, and public hearings will be open on October 20, 1959. Requests for appearances before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, which may be made only by persons filing written briefs, should be made to the Chairman, Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C.

Copies of the notices by the Trade Agreements Committee and the Committee for Reciprocity Information, of the general provisions of the arrangement under consideration with Switzerland, and of the arrangements under consideration with Israel and Yugoslavia are attached. The

results of the tariff negotiations with Switzerland may be purchased from the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Villa Bocage, Geneva, Switzerland, and may be consulted at the Division of Trade Agreements, Department of State, and the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce, at Washington, and at field offices of the Department of Commerce.

NOTICE OF PUBLIC HEARINGS

COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE: PROVISIONAL ACCESSION OF SWITZERLAND AND ISRAEL; RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

Submission of Information to the Committee for Reciprocity Information

Closing date for Applications to Appear at Hearing October 9, 1959

Closing date for Submission of Briefs October 9, 1959
Public Hearings Open October 20, 1959

The Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements has issued on this day a notice of intention to consider participating in arrangements, not involving the conduct of new tariff negotiations, for the provisional accession of Switzerland and Israel to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and for relations with Yugoslavia under that Agreement closer than the observer status now applicable to that country.

Pursuant to paragraph 5 of Executive Order 10082 of October 5, 1949, as amended (3 CFR, 1949-1953 Comp., pp. 281, 355), the Committee for Reciprocity Information hereby gives notice that all applications for oral presentation of views in regard to any aspect of the foregoing proposals shall be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information not later than October 9, 1959. The application must indicate on which of the above arrangements the individual or group desires to be heard and an estimate of the time required for oral presentation. Written statements shall be submitted not later than October 9, 1959. Such communications shall be addressed to "Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C." Fifteen copies of written statements, either typed, printed, or duplicated, shall be submitted, of which one copy shall be sworn to.

Written statements submitted to the Committee, except information and business data proffered in confidence, shall be open to inspection by interested persons. Information and business data proffered in confidence shall be submitted on separate pages clearly marked "For Official Use Only of the Committee for Reciprocity Information".

Public hearings will be held before the Committee for

Reciprocity Information, at which oral statements will be heard, beginning at 10 a.m. on October 20, 1959 in the Hearing Room in the Tariff Commission Building, Eighth and E Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. Witnesses who make application to be heard will be advised regarding the time and place of their individual appearances. Appearances at hearings before the Committee may be made only by or on behalf of those persons who have filed written statements and who have within the time prescribed made written application for oral presentation of views. Statements made at the public hearings shall be under oath.

Copies of the notice issued today by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements may be obtained from the Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C., and may be inspected at the Field Offices of the Department of Commerce.

By direction of the Committee for Reciprocity Information this 9th day of September 1959.

EDWARD YARDLEY
Secretary
Committee for Reciprocity
Information

NOTICE OF INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON TRADE AGREEMENTS

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE: PROVISIONAL ACCESSION OF SWITZERLAND AND ISRAEL; RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

Pursuant to section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act approved June 12, 1934, as amended (48 Stat. 945, ch. 474; 65 Stat. 73, ch. 141), and to paragraph 4 of Executive Order 10082 of October 5, 1949, as amended (3 CFR, 1949-1953 Comp., pp. 281, 355), notice is hereby given by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements of intention to consider participating in arrangements, not involving the conduct of new tariff negotiations, for the provisional accession of Switzerland and Israel to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and for relations with Yugoslavia under the General Agreement closer than the observer status now applicable to that country.

1. *Switzerland.* Under the arrangements for the provisional accession of Switzerland that country would apply, to contracting parties to the General Agreement which formally accept these arrangements, the provisions of that Agreement, including tariff concessions negotiated by Switzerland with some contracting parties (not including the United States) but subject to reservations with respect to certain parts of the Agreement. In return such contracting parties would apply to Switzerland the provisions of the Agreement, including direct rights to their schedules containing tariff concessions. It is not proposed, in connection with any participation by the United States in these arrangements with Switzerland, to termi-

nate or suspend the entire bilateral trade agreement with Switzerland concluded on January 1, 1936 (49 Stat. 3917; EAS 90), as supplemented by exchanges of notes dated September 19, October 4, and November 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 2461; EAS 193) and October 13, 1950 (2 U.S.T. 453; TIAS 2188), and by the supplementary agreement dated June 8, 1955 (6 U.S.T. 2845; TIAS 3328). Consideration is being given, however, to suspending, during such time as the provisions of the General Agreement would be applicable between the United States and Switzerland, those provisions of the bilateral trade agreement which generally relate to trade matters that would be covered by the General Agreement while retaining in effect the schedules containing tariff and other concessions and such other provisions of the Agreement as relate to the application of such concessions.

2. *Israel.* Under the arrangements for the provisional accession of Israel that country would apply the provisions of the General Agreement to contracting parties to that Agreement which formally accept these arrangements. Israel would not undertake obligations with respect to tariff concessions. In return such contracting parties would apply to Israel the provisions of the Agreement other than those which accord direct rights to their schedules containing tariff concessions. The United States has no bilateral trade agreement with Israel.

3. *Yugoslavia.* Under the arrangements with respect to Yugoslavia that country would apply, to contracting parties to the General Agreement which formally accept these arrangements, the provisions of that Agreement to the extent compatible with the current economic system of Yugoslavia. In return such contracting parties would apply to Yugoslavia such treatment as will achieve an equitable balance of rights and obligations as envisaged in the General Agreement. Moreover, Yugoslavia and the contracting parties formally accepting these arrangements would take the objectives of the General Agreement as a basis for their commercial relations with each other, and provision would be made for the bilateral adjustment of questions arising under these arrangements and for their annual review by the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement. The United States has no bilateral trade agreement with Yugoslavia.

The proposals with respect to none of the above three countries would involve the modification of any United States tariff rates or the addition of any new articles imported into the United States to any existing schedule of United States tariff concessions.

Pursuant to section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act, as amended, and paragraph 5 of Executive Order 10082, as amended, information and views as to any aspect of the proposals announced by this notice may be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information in accordance with the announcement of this date issued by that Committee.

By direction of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements, this 9th day of September 1959.

ALBERT E. PAPPANO
Alternate Chairman, Interdepartmental
Committee on Trade Agreements

TEXTS OF DECLARATIONS

Israel

DECLARATION ON THE PROVISIONAL ACCESSION OF ISRAEL TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

The Government of Israel and the other governments on behalf of which this Declaration has been accepted (the latter governments hereinafter referred to as the "participating governments");

CONSIDERING that the Government of Israel on 26 March 1959 made a formal request to accede to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (hereinafter referred to as the "General Agreement") in accordance with the provisions of Article XXXIII of the General Agreement; and

HAVING REGARD to the desire of many contracting parties to the General Agreement to conduct the tariff negotiations with Israel, which it is considered should precede accession under Article XXXIII, during the tariff conference to be held in 1960 and 1961, arrangements for which are being made by the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement (hereinafter referred to as the "CONTRACTING PARTIES"):

1. DECLARE that, pending the accession of Israel under the provisions of Article XXXIII, following the conclusion of tariff negotiations with contracting parties to the General Agreement, the commercial relations between the participating governments and Israel shall be based upon the General Agreement as if the provisions of the model protocol of accession approved by the CONTRACTING PARTIES on 23 October 1951, were embodied in this Declaration, except that Israel shall not have any direct rights with respect to the concessions contained in the schedules annexed to the General Agreement either under the provisions of Article II or under the provisions of any other Article of the General Agreement.

2. REQUEST the CONTRACTING PARTIES to perform such functions as are necessary for the operation of this Declaration.

3. This Declaration, which has been approved by the CONTRACTING PARTIES by a two-thirds majority, shall be opened for acceptance, by signature or otherwise, by Israel, by contracting parties to the General Agreement, and by any governments which accede provisionally to the General Agreement.

4. This Declaration shall be deposited with the Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement.

5. The Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement shall promptly furnish a certified copy of this Declaration, and a notification of each acceptance thereof, to each government to which this Declaration is open for acceptance.

6. This Declaration shall become effective between Israel and any participating government on the thirtieth day following the day upon which it shall have been accepted on behalf of Israel and of that government; it shall remain in force until the Government of Israel accedes to the General Agreement under the provisions of

Article XXXIII thereof or until 31 December 1961, whichever date is earlier, unless it has been agreed by Israel and the participating governments to extend its validity to a later date.

DONE at Geneva this twenty-ninth day of May one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine, in a single copy in the English and French languages, both texts authentic.

Yugoslavia

DECLARATION ON RELATIONS BETWEEN CONTRACTING PARTIES TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

- A -

THE GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA HEREBY DECLARES:

1. (a) That it will take as a basis for its commercial relations with the other parties to this Declaration the objectives of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (hereinafter referred to as the "General Agreement") and to the extent compatible with its current economic system will apply the provisions of the General Agreement;

(b) That it recognizes that the development of mutually advantageous trading relationships depends upon the achievement of an equitable balance of rights and obligations as envisaged in the provisions of the General Agreement;

2. (a) That it will give sympathetic consideration to any representations, which may be addressed to it by any other party to this Declaration concerning the implementation of the undertaking contained in paragraph 1 above and will be prepared to enter into consultations concerning such representations;

(b) That, if such consultations do not result in a settlement satisfactory to such party, it agrees to the matter being referred to the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement (hereinafter referred to as the CONTRACTING PARTIES) for their opinion and advice;

(c) That it will take part in any discussions which the CONTRACTING PARTIES might initiate when they are called upon by another party to give an opinion or advice on the grounds that bilateral consultations undertaken at the request of the said party had not resulted in a satisfactory settlement being reached;

3. That it will endeavour, in the development of arrangements affecting its commercial policies, to move progressively toward a position in which it can give full effect to the provisions of the General Agreement.

- B -

THE PARTIES TO THE PRESENT DECLARATION, OTHER THAN YUGOSLAVIA, HEREBY DECLARE:

1. (a) That they will take as a basis for their commercial relations with Yugoslavia the objectives of the General Agreement;

(b) That, to the extent that Yugoslavia, pursuant to paragraph 1 of Part A above, accords the treatment provided for in the General Agreement, they will accord to Yugoslavia such treatment as will achieve an equitable

balance of rights and obligations as envisaged in the General Agreement;

2. (a) That they will give sympathetic consideration to any representations, which may be addressed to them by the Government of Yugoslavia concerning the implementation of the undertaking contained in paragraph 1 above of this Part and will be prepared to enter into consultations concerning such representations;

(b) That, if such consultations do not result in a settlement satisfactory to Yugoslavia, they agree to the matter being referred to the CONTRACTING PARTIES for their opinion and advice;

(c) That they will take part in any discussions which the CONTRACTING PARTIES might initiate when called upon by Yugoslavia to give an opinion or advice on the grounds that bilateral consultations undertaken at the request of Yugoslavia had not resulted in a satisfactory settlement being reached;

3. That they will request the CONTRACTING PARTIES:

(a) To take note of this Declaration;

(b) To invite the Government of Yugoslavia to take part in the work of the CONTRACTING PARTIES; and

(c) To undertake the functions set out in paragraphs 2 (b) and (c) of Part A above and in paragraphs 2 (b) and (c) above of this Part.

- C -

The parties to this Declaration agree to request the CONTRACTING PARTIES to review each year the development of mutual relations between Yugoslavia and the other parties on the basis of this Declaration as well as the possibilities of further progress towards the full application of the provisions of the General Agreement.

- D -

1. This Declaration, which has been approved by the CONTRACTING PARTIES by a two-thirds majority, shall be opened for acceptance, by signature or otherwise, by Yugoslavia, by contracting parties to the General Agreement, and by any governments which accede provisionally to the General Agreement.

2. This Declaration shall enter into force when it has been accepted by Yugoslavia and by two-thirds of the contracting parties to the General Agreement.

3. In the course of the third annual review, pursuant to Part C above, the CONTRACTING PARTIES shall consider whether the arrangement shall be terminated, modified or continued.

- E -

The Government of Yugoslavia or any other party to this Declaration shall be free to withdraw from this arrangement upon sixty days' written notice being given to the Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES:

(a) If Yugoslavia should withdraw from this arrangement, the Declaration shall lapse and any arrangements made by the CONTRACTING PARTIES shall cease to be valid.

(b) If a party to this present Declaration other than Yugoslavia should withdraw from this arrangement, the sole effect of such withdrawal shall be to terminate the undertakings entered into by such party in respect of Yugoslavia and to terminate the undertakings entered

into by Yugoslavia in respect of such party under this Declaration.

- F -

1. This Declaration shall be deposited with the Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES.

2. The Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES shall promptly furnish a certified copy of this Declaration, and a notification of each acceptance thereof, to each government to which this Declaration is open for acceptance.

DONE at Geneva, this twenty-fifth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine, in a single copy, in the English and French languages, both texts authentic.

Switzerland

DECLARATION ON THE PROVISIONAL ACCESSION OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

The contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade on behalf of which this Declaration has been accepted (hereinafter referred to as the "participating contracting parties" and the "General Agreement") and the Government of the Swiss Confederation,

HAVING REGARD to the arrangements for the provisional accession of Switzerland set forth in the relevant report approved by the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement (hereinafter referred to as the "CONTRACTING PARTIES") at their eleventh session, and

HAVING REGARD to the results of the tariff negotiations conducted between Switzerland and a number of contracting parties in accordance with the arrangements referred to above,

1. DECLARE that the commercial relations between the participating contracting parties and the Swiss Confederation shall, subject to the terms of paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) below, be based upon the General Agreement as if the Swiss Confederation had acceded to the General Agreement in accordance with the relevant procedures and as if the schedules annexed to this Declaration were schedules annexed to the General Agreement:

(a) The Government of the Swiss Confederation reserves its position with respect to the provisions of paragraph 6 of Article XV of the General Agreement. The Swiss monetary policy is set forth in the declaration made by the Government of the Swiss Confederation at the meeting of the eleventh session of the CONTRACTING PARTIES on 17 November 1956, which is incorporated by reference into this Declaration. In this connexion the Swiss Confederation undertakes that it will act in exchange matters in accordance with the intent of the General Agreement and in particular undertakes not, by exchange action, to frustrate the intent of the provisions of the General Agreement. The Swiss Confederation agrees to consult with the CONTRACTING PARTIES at any time, subject to thirty days' notice, upon the request of any signatory to this Declaration which considers that the Swiss Confederation has taken exchange action which may have a significant effect on the application of

the provisions of the General Agreement or is inconsistent with the principles and objectives of the Special Exchange Agreement annexed to the resolution of 20 June 1949.

(b) The Government of the Swiss Confederation reserves its position with regard to the application of the provisions of Article XI of the General Agreement to the extent necessary to permit the Government of the Swiss Confederation to apply import restrictions pursuant to Title II of the Federal Law of 3 October 1951 as well as to the legislation concerning the alcohol and wheat monopolies based on Articles 32 bis and 23 bis (as amended in 1952) of the Federal Constitution and pursuant to Article 11 of the Federal Law of 28 September 1956. In applying measures under these Laws the Government of the Swiss Confederation will so far as is consistent with the implementation of these Laws, observe to the fullest possible extent the appropriate provisions of the General Agreement, and in particular will endeavor to ensure that they are applied in such a manner as to cause minimum harm to the interests of the signatories to this Declaration. Thus, the Government of the Swiss Confederation, consistently with Article XIII of the General Agreement will apply all restrictions imposed under these Laws in accordance with the principles of non-discrimination, and pursuant to Article XXII and to paragraph 1 of Article XXIII of the General Agreement will give sympathetic consideration to any representations made to it by any other signatory to this Declaration, and enter into consultation with respect to such representations. At the first session of the CONTRACTING PARTIES following the entry into force of this Declaration and at each annual session thereafter so long as the Declaration remains in force, the Government of the Swiss Confederation will furnish to the CONTRACTING PARTIES a report of the measures maintained consistently with this reservation, and upon request of the CONTRACTING PARTIES, enter into consultation with them regarding such measures.

(c) The Government of the Swiss Confederation undertakes, that following the entry into force of this Declaration, and the approval by the CONTRACTING PARTIES of a concurrent resolution inviting the Swiss Confederation to participate in the work of the CONTRACTING PARTIES, it will enter into consultations with the CONTRACTING PARTIES with a view to finding solutions compatible with the basic principles of the General Agreement, to the problems dealt with in the foregoing reservation.

2. REQUEST the CONTRACTING PARTIES to perform such functions as are necessary for the operation of this Declaration.

3. For the purposes of the territorial application of this Declaration the customs territory of the Swiss Confederation shall be deemed to include the territory of the Principality of Liechtenstein as long as the treaty for the Customs Union with the Swiss Confederation is in force.

4. Should certain negotiations not be completed in time to be annexed to the Declaration when it is opened for signature, the schedules of concessions resulting from these negotiations shall be annexed to this Declaration,

and shall be governed by the provisions thereof, as from the day following the signature of a Proces-Verbal by the government concerned and by the Government of the Swiss Confederation.

5. (a) This Declaration shall be deposited with the Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement.

(b) The Executive Secretary of the CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement shall promptly furnish a certified copy of this Declaration, and a notification of each acceptance thereto, to each contracting party to the General Agreement.

6. This Declaration shall be registered in accordance with the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. This Declaration shall remain open for acceptance, by signature or otherwise, until 30 June 1959, by contracting parties having entered into negotiations with the Government of the Swiss Confederation pursuant to the arrangements made for the provisional accession of Switzerland, by contracting parties which have not conducted such negotiations but have agreed with that Government that their trade relations should be governed by the terms of this Declaration, and by the Government of the Swiss Confederation.

8. This Declaration shall become effective between the Swiss Confederation and any contracting party on the thirtieth day following the day upon which it shall have been accepted, by signature or otherwise, on behalf of the Swiss Confederation and of that contracting party; it shall remain in force until the Government of the Swiss Confederation accedes to the General Agreement under the provisions of Article XXXIII of the General Agreement or until 31 December 1961, whichever date is earlier, unless it has been agreed by the parties to this Declaration to extend its validity to a later date.

DONE at Geneva, this twenty-second day of November, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight, in a single copy, in the English and French languages, both texts authentic except as otherwise specified in the schedules annexed hereto.

Development Loans

Uruguay

The United States and Uruguay on September 3 signed an agreement whereby the Development Loan Fund will lend up to \$8.8 million to the Administracion General de las Usinas Electricas y los Telefonos del Estado (UTE), an autonomous government enterprise, to help finance the expansion of telephone facilities in the Montevideo area of Uruguay. For details, see Department of State press release 629 dated September 3.

U.N. Security Council Sends Factfinding Group to Laos

The U.N. Security Council met on September 7 to consider an appeal from the Royal Government of Laos (U.N. doc. S/4212) asking for U.N. assistance in the face of "flagrant aggression" from north Viet-Nam and requesting that "an emergency force should be dispatched at a very early date in order to halt the aggression and prevent it from spreading." Following are three statements made during the session by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative on the Security Council.

FIRST STATEMENT

U.S./U.N. press release 3215

I shall speak briefly to the report by the Secretary-General¹ which, as we all know, includes and transmits the communication from the Government of Laos and which communication is accordingly now officially before us.

Mr. President, once again the United Nations confronts an appeal which puts us to the test. It is an appeal for help from Laos, a small state of recent membership in the United Nations. The appeal tells of threats to its integrity and independence by forces from outside its own borders.

Clearly, we cannot ignore this appeal. It calls for action of some kind, and this Council must decide what this action should be.

The United States believes that there is no doubt at all that aggression is being committed.² The newspapers are full of it. It is common knowledge. But we realize of course that there may be those around this table who do not agree.

But certainly there can be no doubt about one fact, and that is that the Government of Laos believes that it has been the victim of aggression

and that when the government of any member state—large or small—appeals to the Security Council, the Security Council cannot turn a deaf ear and pass by on the other side.

The telegram from the Foreign Minister of Laos—in and of itself—is prima facie evidence of the need for the Security Council to act and to act quickly.

For this reason the United States, in cooperation with other members of the Security Council, has introduced the pending resolution.³ It is very short, and I would like to read it:

The Security Council,

Decides to appoint a subcommittee consisting of Argentina, Italy, Japan and Tunisia, and instructs this subcommittee to examine the statements made before the Security Council concerning Laos, to receive further statements and documents and to conduct such inquiries as it may determine necessary and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible.

Mr. President, to keep the parliamentary situation clear, I hereby move the adoption of the resolution.

Now, the language of this resolution is virtually identical with language which has been used before, notably in the action under article 29 of the charter in the Spanish case in 1946.⁴ In that case the vote in the Security Council was 10 for, 0 against, and 1 abstention. And the member who abstained was the then representative of the Soviet Union, who was Mr. Gromyko and who is now the Foreign Minister.

This resolution is squarely within the provisions of article 29 of the charter. It is a step

¹ U.N. doc. S/4214; adopted by the Security Council on Sept. 8 (S/4216) by a vote of 10 to 1 (Soviet Union), following a ruling by the President of the Council that the vote on the joint draft resolution should be regarded as procedural.

⁴ For background and text of the resolution, see BULLETIN of May 12, 1946, p. 788.

¹ U.N. doc. S/4213.

² For a Department statement, see BULLETIN of Sept. 21, 1959, p. 414.

which is necessary for the Council to take in the performance of its functions in this case. When it is created it will be a subsidiary organ which will in effect provide for the continuation of the Council's consideration of this subject.

This resolution has the great advantage that it enables the Security Council to react without undue delay to this appeal from a small country.

This resolution should in a short time result in finding facts which will be of value to the whole Council.

This resolution does not close any doors and does not put anybody up against a stone wall.

This resolution is a constructive way of dealing with a menacing situation and of dampening down flames which are spurring up dangerously.

Finally, members should understand that, if the Security Council shrinks from taking this very modest step, the alternative courses of action may be much more far-reaching, much harder to control, and much more dangerous.

Mr. President and members of the Council, this resolution will have a good effect if it is voted promptly. But if we present to the world a spectacle of hair splitting and haggling, its effect will be much reduced.

For these reasons we think the Council should enact this resolution promptly. In fact, I hope that we will not hesitate to hold a night session if need be so that we may do our full duty to the world and once again inspire the confidence of world opinion in the United Nations.

SECOND STATEMENT

U.S./U.N. press release 3213

Mr. President, let me assure Mr. Sobolev^{*} that I intend to deal with all the points which he has raised to the complete satisfaction of everyone here and that I expect to reveal some of his errors and omissions and some of his fallacious reasoning. But I wish to do it after the vote. This is an urgent situation in Laos. I think we ought to vote this resolution, and after the vote I shall ask to be recognized at which time I shall give total justification in explanation of all the points which Mr. Sobolev has raised.

^{*} Soviet Representative Arkady A. Sobolev.

THIRD STATEMENT¹

U.S./U.N. press release 3214

Mr. President, let me first express gratification that this resolution has been adopted and by such a very large majority. There is no question whatever that it has been legally adopted and that there is absolutely no flaw at all in its status.

I am confident that the four nations mentioned in the resolution will immediately address themselves to the work prescribed in the resolution. I am sure that this will have an excellent effect on opinion throughout the world and will receive and merit the applause of all those who value the rights of small nations.

Now, Mr. President, Ambassador Sobolev is a man of forensic talent and experience who can be counted upon to make the strongest possible argument for any cause that he espouses. The fact that he was not able to make a better argument is therefore no reflection on him, but it does show that the cause which he was espousing had him on very weak ground indeed. Of the cases which he cited, with the possible exception of one, not one was analogous to the issue which we confronted here tonight. In fact he even cited a case on page 190 of the *Repertoire*,² which was a case providing for a commission to supervise the implementation of Security Council decisions. Of course you cannot imagine anything more substantive than supervising the implementation of Security Council decisions. That is at the opposite extreme from this very mild subcommittee that we propose here.

1945 Statement on Voting Procedure Cited

Then Ambassador Sobolev had a great deal to say about the San Francisco declaration.³ Now, I happen to think that the San Francisco declaration is significant largely as a matter of attitude. I agree with the President that the thing that governs us here is the charter and the rules of

^{*} Mr. Lodge spoke at 12:30 a.m., Sept. 8.

¹ *Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, 1946-1951*; U.N. publication 1954.VII.1.

² For text of a four-power statement on voting procedure in the Security Council made at San Francisco on June 7, 1945, see *Documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organizations, San Francisco, 1945* (New York, vol. xi, Commission 3, Security Council), p. 711.

the Security Council. The President has made many wise observations tonight but never more so than when he made that statement. That gets us back to fundamentals.

But I would like to quote you something from this famous declaration of San Francisco to which Ambassador Sobolev referred so often. In this declaration there is a list of things to which the veto shall not be applied. There are a number of them, but I will just read the part which affects this question:

"For example, under the Yalta formula a procedural vote will govern the decisions made under the entire section D of chapter VI. This means that the Council will, by a vote of any seven of its members, adopt or alter its rules of procedure; . . ." That is one thing. And then, "establish such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions." I would like to read that again, "establish such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions."

Now, if that is not what we are doing here, then I cannot understand plain language. That is precisely by its very terms one of the things which under the declaration of San Francisco is not a matter of substance to which the veto cannot be applied. Ambassador Sobolev, who based his case on the declaration of San Francisco, must recognize that the whole foundation is knocked out from under his argument by this quotation which I have just read.

U.S. View on Use of Double Veto

Now, I would like to make a few more remarks on this subject to summarize the position of the United States both on our procedure today and on the four-power declaration.

The United States has consistently taken the view that the so-called double veto cannot be used to make substantive a matter declared by the four-power statement to be procedural. This was clearly expressed before the Council by Ambassador [Ernest A.] Gross, the United States Representative at the 507th meeting on September 29, 1950, nearly 10 years ago, in these words:

Section II, paragraph 2 of the San Francisco declaration was never intended, and cannot properly be construed, as giving the five permanent members of the Security Council the right to use the device of the double veto to determine unilaterally as nonprocedural, matters

which according to the charter, or by agreement contained in part I of the San Francisco declaration, are procedural.

That was 10 years ago, but that continues to be the view of the United States.

This resolution which we have just adopted establishes a subcommittee of the Council to receive statements and documents and to conduct such inquiries as it may determine necessary. We regard such action as a normal and accepted procedure by which the Council can make its work more orderly and more efficient. This is truly, and I am quoting from the charter, a "subsidiary organ" which the Council "deems necessary for the performance of its functions," which is the precise situation covered by article 29.

Such a subsidiary organ is specifically considered procedural in the charter in article 29, which says: "The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions." It is also procedural under rules 28 and 33 of the rules of procedure. And I would like to read rule 28. It says: "The Security Council may appoint a commission or committee or a *rapporteur* for a specified question." That is rule 28. Rule 33 says,

The following motions shall have precedence in the order named over all principal motions and draft resolutions relative to the subject before the meeting: 1. to suspend the meeting; 2. to adjourn the meeting; 3. to adjourn the meeting to a certain day or hour; 4. to refer any matter to a committee, to the Secretary-General or to a *rapporteur*; 5. to postpone discussion of the question to a certain day or indefinitely; or 6. to introduce an amendment. Any motion for the suspension or for the simple adjournment of the meeting shall be decided without debate.

Now, that part in there to refer to a committee is put right in with all these other procedural things. Can that be just accidental? Would that have been done if that was a question of substance?

This matter is procedural under section I, paragraph 2, of the four-power declaration which I have already read. And it is procedural under General Assembly resolution 267 of the third General Assembly which reads:

The General Assembly, . . . 1. Recommends to the members of the Security Council that, without prejudice to any other decisions which the Security Council may deem procedural, the decisions set forth in the attached annex be deemed procedural and that the members of the Security Council conduct their business accordingly; . . .

And one of the decisions referred to was, "Establishment of such subsidiary organs as the Security Council deems necessary for the performance of its functions." Now, that is a vote of the General Assembly which states categorically that what we have just done is procedural. Let me call the attention of the Council to the fact that the authority to refer "any matter to a committee" in the Council's rules of procedure is found in rule 33, which gives the order of precedence of obviously procedural motions "over all principal motions and draft resolutions relative to the subject."

Spanish Case a Precedent

Now, Mr. President, it is both illogical and contrary to the fundamental intention of the charter that the Security Council should be prevented by a double veto from obtaining assistance from subsidiary organs which it deems necessary for the performance of its functions. But beyond that, in the resolution which we have adopted, the Council stands on a precedent of long standing in reaffirming that establishment of such a subcommittee is a matter under article 29.

I refer, of course, to the Spanish case of 1946. The resolution sponsored today by three members is in substance taken verbatim from the operative paragraph of the resolution adopted on the Spanish question on April 29, 1946. The resolution adopted by the Council on the Spanish question was a revision of an earlier draft which had called specifically for an investigation under article 34. But in introducing the revised resolution its sponsor, who was the representative of Australia, said that the draft had "cut out the idea of a formal investigation under Article 34 so as to enable the proposed body to be brought in under Article 29 as a subsidiary organ." The representative of Australia at that time clearly drew this distinction, and his interpretation was never explicitly challenged and was in fact reinforced by subsequent statements by the representative of Australia in explaining the intent and scope of the resolution, including the statement that it was up to the subcommittee itself to decide "how and when and where the inquiry is to be made." Furthermore, the Spanish subcommittee is listed in the *Reper-toire of the Practice of the Security Council* under article 29. That is how it is officially listed, and you can verify that. The subcommittee which was

established under article 29 in 1946 can be established under the same article in 1959.

Now, Mr. President, as a matter of fact, the Soviet Union has already tacitly conceded that, under circumstances similar to those pertaining today, the Council can determine a resolution to be procedural without the concurring vote of all the permanent members. And I will tell you when this happened. This happened when the Council on September 29, 1950, considered the agenda item, complaint of armed aggression against Taiwan. The Security Council decided an issue in that case against the negative vote of one of the permanent members, and the Soviet Union made no complaint. Because its political interests are different now, the Soviet Union takes an entirely different point of view from that which it took in 1950.

Now, in contrast to that, let me point out that the United States has consistently taken the position since 1946 that resolutions of the type which we have today, setting up subcommittees of the Council, are procedural questions under article 29. We took that position in the Spanish case, in the Corfu Channel case, and in the Czech case. In the Czech case, which the Soviet Union has cited to support its position, the Council will remember that a majority of the members of the Council voted that the resolution was procedural. The United States made an explicit reservation to that effect and announced that regardless of the decision at that time we would feel free to act in the future on the basis that resolutions establishing subcommittees were procedural.

But even more important than that, the United States concurred during the complaint relating to Taiwan discussion in 1950 that the resolution was procedural and that the negative vote of a permanent member could not prevent it from being procedural. And we did this even though we were opposed to and voted against the resolution. That is the side we were on. Ambassador Gross, the United States Representative, stated,

The results of applying the law of the charter, as I said at the outset of my remarks, in the present instance, where it is against our own interests, is not pleasant, but if we do not apply that law now in these circumstances, we cannot expect others to apply it when it is not in their interests to do so.

That was our position then and that is our position now. There is no cloud of any kind on the resolution which we have just adopted.

Confirmation of Delegates to Fourteenth General Assembly

The Senate on September 2 confirmed the following to be representatives of the United States to the 14th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, to serve no longer than December 31, 1959:

Henry Cabot Lodge
James G. Fulton
Clement J. Zablocki
Walter S. Robertson
George Meany

The following were confirmed to be alternate U.S. representatives for the same period:

Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
Virgil M. Hancher
Erle Cocke, Jr.
Mrs. Oswald B. Lord
Harold Riegelman

U.S. Representatives Named to Third IAEA Conference

The Senate on September 2 confirmed John A. McCone as representative of the United States and Paul F. Foster as alternate representative to the third session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

TREATY INFORMATION

Shrimp Conservation Convention With Cuba Enters Into Force

Press release 640 dated September 9

The United States and Cuba on September 4, 1959, exchanged instruments of ratification bringing into force the convention for the conservation of shrimp, which had been signed by representatives of the two countries on August 15, 1958.¹ The President, acting upon the advice

and consent of the Senate, ratified the convention on the part of the United States on June 12, 1959.

The convention has for its purpose scientific research and the adoption of conservation measures affecting shrimp harvested by fishermen of the two countries in the Gulf of Mexico, off the coasts of Cuba and Florida. The region involved has been one of the important shrimping areas of the gulf. During the past few years the percentage of small shrimp from these grounds has been increasing, suggesting the possibility that a substantial part of the yield is being taken before the shrimp have reached the larger, more commercially desirable sizes. Under the terms of the convention the United States and Cuba will conduct studies to learn the facts and take necessary action to maintain this resource at the most productive level for the benefit of both countries.

This is the ninth international agreement by means of which the United States is now cooperating with her neighbors in the conservation of fishery resources. All but one of these agreements, the Great Lakes fishery convention with Canada,² affect high-seas fisheries. One, the whaling convention (15 nations),³ is worldwide in scope. The others encircle our country, starting with the northwest Atlantic (12 nations),⁴ crossing the continent to the fur seals of the North Pacific (4 nations),⁵ the halibut of the North Pacific,⁶ and the salmon of the Fraser River in British Columbia⁷ (United States and Canada). A tripartite agreement between the United States, Canada, and Japan covers all fishery resources of common concern to these three nations in the North Pacific.⁸ The tuna convention with Costa Rica and Panama deals with the tunas of the eastern tropical Pacific.⁹

The United States has now joined with Cuba in another of these international undertakings between friendly nations for the preservation of fishery resources of common concern, to the benefit of both.

¹ For background and text of the convention, see BULLETIN of Apr. 20, 1959, p. 566.

² Treaties and Other International Acts Series 3326.

³ TIAS 1849.

⁴ TIAS 2089.

⁵ TIAS 3948.

⁶ TIAS 2900.

⁷ 50 Stat. 1355; TIAS 3867.

⁸ TIAS 2786.

⁹ TIAS 2044.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹
Signature: Dominican Republic, September 9, 1959.

Aviation

Protocol to amend the convention for the unification of certain rules relating to international carriage by air signed October 12, 1934. Done at The Hague September 28, 1955.¹

Ratification deposited: Australia, June 23, 1959.

International air services transit agreement. Signed at Chicago December 7, 1944. Entered into force for the United States February 8, 1945. 59 Stat. 1693.

Acceptance deposited: Portugal, September 1, 1959.

Narcotic Drugs

Protocol amending the agreements, conventions, and protocols on narcotic drugs concluded at The Hague January 23, 1912 (38 Stat. 1912), at Geneva February 11, 1925,² and February 19, 1925,² and July 13, 1931 (48 Stat. 1543), at Bangkok November 27, 1931,² and at Geneva June 26, 1936.² Signed at Lake Success December 11, 1946. Entered into force December 11, 1946. TIAS 1671 and 1859.

Acceptance deposited: Federal Republic of Germany, August 12, 1959.

Protocol bringing under international control drugs outside the scope of the convention limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs concluded at Geneva July 13, 1931 (48 Stat. 1543), as amended (61 Stat. 2230; 62 Stat. 1796). Done at Paris November 19, 1948. Entered into force December 1, 1949. TIAS 2308.

Acceptance deposited: Federal Republic of Germany, August 12, 1959.

Protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium. Dated at New York June 23, 1953.¹

Ratification deposited: Federal Republic of Germany, August 12, 1959.

Safety at Sea

Agreement regarding financial support of the North Atlantic ice patrol. Opened for signature at Washington January 4, 1956. Entered into force July 5, 1956. TIAS 3597.

Acceptance deposited: Panama, August 31, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.¹

Notification of approval: Spain, Spanish Provinces in Africa, July 2, 1959.

International telecommunication convention. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954 (TIAS 3266).

Notification by Australia of extension to: the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Christmas Island, the Terri-

tory of Heard Island and McDonald Islands, the Australian Antarctic Territory, July 14, 1959.

BILATERAL

Brazil

Agreement further amending the agricultural commodities agreement of December 31, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3725, 3864, 4074, 4144, 4183, and 4239). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington September 2, 1959. Entered into force September 2, 1959.

China

Agreement relating to the sale of United States excess property in Taiwan by the Armed Forces of the United States. Effected by exchange of notes at Taipei July 22, 1959. Entered into force July 22, 1959.

Cuba

Convention regarding the conservation of shrimp. Signed at Habana August 15, 1958.

Ratifications exchanged: September 4, 1959.

Entered into force: September 4, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Foreign Service Selection Boards Meet

Press release 625 dated September 2

The Department of State announced on September 2 the convening of the Thirteenth Selection Boards, which will review the records of all career Foreign Service officers for purposes of promotion and selection out. The Selection Boards are established by the Secretary of State under the terms of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

Selection Boards, which normally meet once each year, are composed of senior career Foreign Service officers and distinguished private citizens. The Boards are given the task of evaluating the performance of Foreign Service officers as the basis for the President's promotion of the top officers in each class.

The task confronting the Selection Boards this year has grown in scope, owing largely to the increase in the size of the Foreign Service Officer Corps by virtue of the recent integration program. As a result of this program the Foreign Service Officer Corps has expanded from 1,300 in 1954 to approximately 3,600 this year.

¹ Not in force.

² Not in force for the United States.

The Selection Boards will meet for approximately 4 months. The Boards include 28 active Foreign Service officers, 7 public members drawn from private life, and 2 observers on each Board, 1 designated by the Department of Commerce and 1 by the Department of Labor. Participation by these observers represents the direct interest of their Departments in the work of the Foreign Service of the United States.

The Foreign Service officer members include five career ministers: Lampton J. Berry, recently Ambassador to Ceylon; Cecil W. Gray, recently Deputy Chief of Mission, Mexico City; Edward B. Lawson, chief, Career Development and Counseling Staff; Frederick B. Lyon, consul general, Algiers; and John Joseph Muccio, Ambassador to Iceland.

The public members are: W. Stanley Allen, of Alta Loma, Calif., former manager for a Seattle commercial firm with worldwide connections; William W. Edel of Long Beach, Calif., former president of Dickinson College; Lloyd A. Lehrbas, a retired journalist from Washington, D.C., who was at one time a special assistant to the Departments of State and Defense; Carl W. Lindner of Wallingford, Pa., director of Research and Education for the Glass Bottle Blowers Association (AFL-CIO); Purcell L. Smith, Washington, D.C., formerly president of the National Association of Electric Companies; Robert L. Walkinshaw of Medfield, Mass., subregional director, region 9-A, United Automobile Workers Union, Boston, Mass.; and Harold F. Wendel of Portland, Oreg., president and general manager, Lipman, Wolf & Co., a leading Portland department store.

Confirmations

The Senate on September 2 confirmed Harry F. Stimpson, Jr., to be Ambassador to Paraguay. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 613 dated August 26.)

The Senate on September 9 confirmed William A. M. Burden to be Ambassador to Belgium. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 630 dated September 3.)

The Senate on September 9 confirmed Henry E. Stebbins to be Ambassador to Nepal. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 622 dated August 31.)

Designations

E. Allen Fidel as director, Executive Staff, Bureau of Economic Affairs, effective September 8.

William W. Scranton as special assistant to the Secretary of State, effective September 15.

Alfred T. Wellborn as executive director, Bureau of African Affairs, effective September 8.

PUBLICATIONS

German War Documents Released

The Department of State announced on August 31 (press release 617 dated August 27) the release of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, Series C (1933-1937), Volume III, The Third Reich: First Phase, June 14, 1934-March 31, 1935*. This is the 13th volume of the cooperative project of the United States, Great Britain, and France, publishing authoritative texts of documents from the archives of the German Foreign Office captured by Allied forces at the close of World War II.

The volume begins with the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini at Venice on June 14, 1934, and concludes at the end of March 1935, the month in which the German Government reintroduced conscription.

The 573 documents of this volume are printed in chronological order. There is a descriptive list arranged by topics to guide those who may wish to read on particular subjects.

The period covered by this volume includes numerous political murders: of Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss (July 25); of Röhm, von Schleicher, and their associates on the "Night of the Long Knives" (June 30); of French Foreign Minister Barthou and King Alexander of Yugoslavia at Marseille (October 9). The reactions of these events on German policy are well brought out in the documents. The central core of the volume, however, is the rearmament of Germany and the discordant reaction to that rearmament by France and Great Britain.

As has been the practice throughout the cooperative tripartite project, the British, French, and U.S. editors have jointly made the selection of the documents here published and they jointly share the responsibility for these choices. Under a reciprocal arrangement some of the volumes are edited and printed by the British and some by the U.S. Government. This volume has been edited by British editors and printed at Her Majesty's Stationery Office. The U.S. edition, bound at the Government Printing Office, is being released simultaneously with the British edition at London.

Copies of the volume, Department of State publication 6848, can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for \$4.25 each.

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Check List of Department of State Press Releases: September 7-13

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Releases issued prior to September 7 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 617 of August 27, 621 of August 31, 625 and 627 of September 2, and 629 of September 3.

No.	Date	Subject
637	9/7	Four-power communique on disarmament negotiations.
†638	9/8	DLF loan in Pakistan (rewrite).
†639	9/8	Foreign Service officer examination.
640	9/9	Convention for conservation of shrimp with Cuba.
641	9/9	GATT relations with Switzerland, Israel, and Yugoslavia.
†642	9/10	Agreement of cooperation with Liberia.
†643	9/10	Announcement of agreement of cooperation with Liberia.
*644	9/10	U.S. delegation to 14th General Assembly.
†645	9/11	DLF loan to Pakistan (rewrite).
646	9/12	Wilcox: "The United Nations: Its Role in a Changing World."

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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TOWARD
BETTER UNDERSTANDING

*Vice President Nixon's Visit to
the Soviet Union and Poland*

On July 24 Vice President Richard M. Nixon officially opened the American National Exhibition in Sokolniki Park, Moscow. After a series of talks with Soviet officials at Moscow, the Vice President made a 4,448-mile tour of the Soviet Union, stopping at Leningrad, Novosibirsk, and Sverdlovsk. Mr. Nixon left Moscow on August 2 for a 3-day visit at Warsaw, Poland.

This 50-page pamphlet contains the record of what Mr. Nixon said on the various occasions when he spoke to the people of the Soviet Union and Poland, together with other relevant documents including some of the addresses and remarks made in response to Mr. Nixon by officials of the host governments.

Publication 6881

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